



BRITAIN DIVIDED?

RIVERS OF BLOOD 50 YEARS ON

EXCLUSIVE YOUNG GOV POLLING FROM HOPE NOT HATE

HOPE not hate exists to provide a positive antidote to the politics of hate. We combine first class research with community organising and grassroots actions to defeat hate groups and to build community resilience against extremism.

Hate is often the consequence of a loss of hope and an articulation of despair, but given an alternative, especially one that understands and addresses their anger, most people will choose HOPE over hate. Our job is to expose and undermine groups that preach hate, intolerance and division whilst uniting communities around what they have in common.

We aim to take a part in building a society that celebrates rather than scapegoats our differences.

To visit the *Fear and HOPE* website:
www.fearandhope.org.uk

To learn more about HOPE not hate:
<http://charity.hopenothate.org.uk/>



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CONTENTS

Executive Summary	4
.....	
The Poll	6
.....	
Belonging	8
.....	
Immigration	10
.....	
Integration and Multiculturalism	14
.....	
Looking Forward: Rivers of Blood?	16
.....	
Integration	18
.....	
Faith and Belonging	20
.....	
Generational change since Enoch	24
.....	
Conclusion	26
.....	

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Fifty years on from the Rivers of Blood speech, Enoch Powell's dire predictions of societal collapse have not materialised. But anxieties around immigration and integration continue to cause concern for many.

According to an exclusive YouGov poll of over 5,000 people commissioned by HOPE not hate (building on previous Fear and HOPE polls commissioned by HOPE not hate since 2011+), the British public remains pessimistic about the state of multiculturalism and integration, and fears it will get worse.

While there is a gulf between people's negative perceptions and the more cordial reality, multiculturalism has been an uneven success, leaving some areas of Britain more integrated than others.

There have been huge advances in race relations, thanks to governmental and non-governmental action and the growth of closer connections between different communities. But many challenges remain across, and between, these communities, and also in some specific areas of the country.

With anxiety about British Muslims and Islam in particular replacing immigration as the main area of concern 50 years since Powell's speech, challenging anti-Muslim prejudice and creating a more positive narrative around British Muslims will be a central to the continuing advancement of race relations in the UK.

Powell's dire predictions of societal breakdown haven't materialised but people remain pessimistic about the state of multiculturalism and integration, and fear it will get worse.

EXCLUSIVE YOUNG GOV POLLING OF 5,200 PEOPLE FOR HOPE NOT HATE HAS FOUND:

- 41% believe that Britain's multicultural society isn't working and different communities generally live separate lives. While 43% of our poll feel that Britain is a successful multicultural society where people from different backgrounds generally get along well together, this group is heavily concentrated among highly educated people, Remain voters and Liberal Democrat supporters. Multiculturalism is a polarising issue.
- 43% of respondents think that relationships between different communities within the UK will get worse over the next few years, with just 14% believing things will get better. Worryingly, this crosses many of the demographic and voting pattern divides.
- Even more worryingly, many feel that these tensions will lead to violence. 40% of people felt that Enoch Powell's dire predictions of social breakdown and violence in his Rivers of Blood speech proved accurate, while only 41% believe he was wrong.
- Anxieties towards British Muslims, and Islam generally, has replaced immigration as the key issue of concern for many Britons. 37% of all respondents see Islam as a threat to the British way of life compared to 33% who see the Muslim faith and the British way of life as compatible. Last year's terrorist attacks greatly increased suspicion towards British Muslims and this effect continues to be felt today.
- A link between Islamic extremism and the failure of integration in Britain is drawn by a high proportion of the British public.

However, there appears to be a gulf between perception and reality. The reality is that multiculturalism has been an uneven success, leaving some areas of Britain more integrated than others.

- Community relations are not without issues, but on the whole people feel happy in their communities, well integrated, and mix well with people of different ethnic backgrounds to themselves.
- Data from the community life survey shows that 81% of people feel well integrated into their community.¹
- Our poll shows more people have than do not have close friends from different ethnic backgrounds to themselves and almost a third of people say that they or a family member has been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnicity to themselves in the last few years. 25% of Londoners have been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnicity to themselves.
- Young people are a lot more positive about multiculturalism and integration and a lot less anxious about Muslims than older people.
- Just as positively, our poll finds 60% of people think that immigration has been good for Britain, up from 40% when people were asked the same question in 2011 and 50% when people were asked in January 2016.

There have been huge advances in race relations, from governmental and non-governmental action through to closer connections between different communities. However, many challenges remain across, and between communities, and in some specific areas of the country.

- Some of the negative attitudes towards migrants and Muslims are clearly shaped by the wider media and social media narrative, which is often negative and carries a dominant narrative that conflates a failure of integration with violent extremism. Social contact between people of different backgrounds is key to ensuring good community relations. The more people meet and interact in their daily lives, the less likely they are to hold negative views about people.
- While Britain is a more integrated society than many of us initially think, there is no disguising the fact that significant problems exist and must be tackled, especially those rooted in economic problems and cultural anxieties.
- With the Government's own Race Disparity Audit report highlighting great societal inequalities for people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, the ongoing threat of Islamist and far-right terrorism and provocation, and rapidly changing demographics (with predictions that Britain's BAME communities will make up 36% of the population by 2050), building stronger and more integrated communities must be a priority for us all.
- Integration is as much about reversing economic inequalities and providing people and communities with the opportunities to progress as it does challenging racism and prejudice.
- With HOPE not hate's research showing a clear link between economic pessimism and negative attitudes towards immigrants and multiculturalism, we cannot address the latter without improving the life chances for those who currently see no hope.

As when Powell spoke, a huge amount of work was needed to provide alternative messages of hope, and real action from government and communities to stop Powell's vision from becoming reality, we need action today to stop a slip towards hardening attitudes and to rebuild public trust. Powell's speech prompted action, the anniversary must do the same.

THE POLL

Our exclusive YouGov poll of over 5,000 people, carried out in late January 2018, revisits many of the questions we've asked during our Fear and HOPE surveys – examining race, faith and identity – since 2011, and also poses some new ones.

Central to our work, and this poll, is understanding how people relate to identity and belonging in modern Britain. Our research via the National Conversation on Immigration has also highlighted the importance of integration in underpinning many anxieties about immigration and multiculturalism.

Integration is a hugely contested term and in this poll we have not set out to define it. Instead, we have left the term open to interpretation.





Photo: Nicholas Hutchinson

BELONGING

What people believe to be important aspects of being British has changed considerably since 2011, with public attitudes to national belonging becoming more flexible.

Seven years on, people are less likely to see the importance of a person's birthplace or their parents' birthplace in determining national belonging and instead see the most important aspects of being British as tax contribution, holding citizenship, or speaking English.

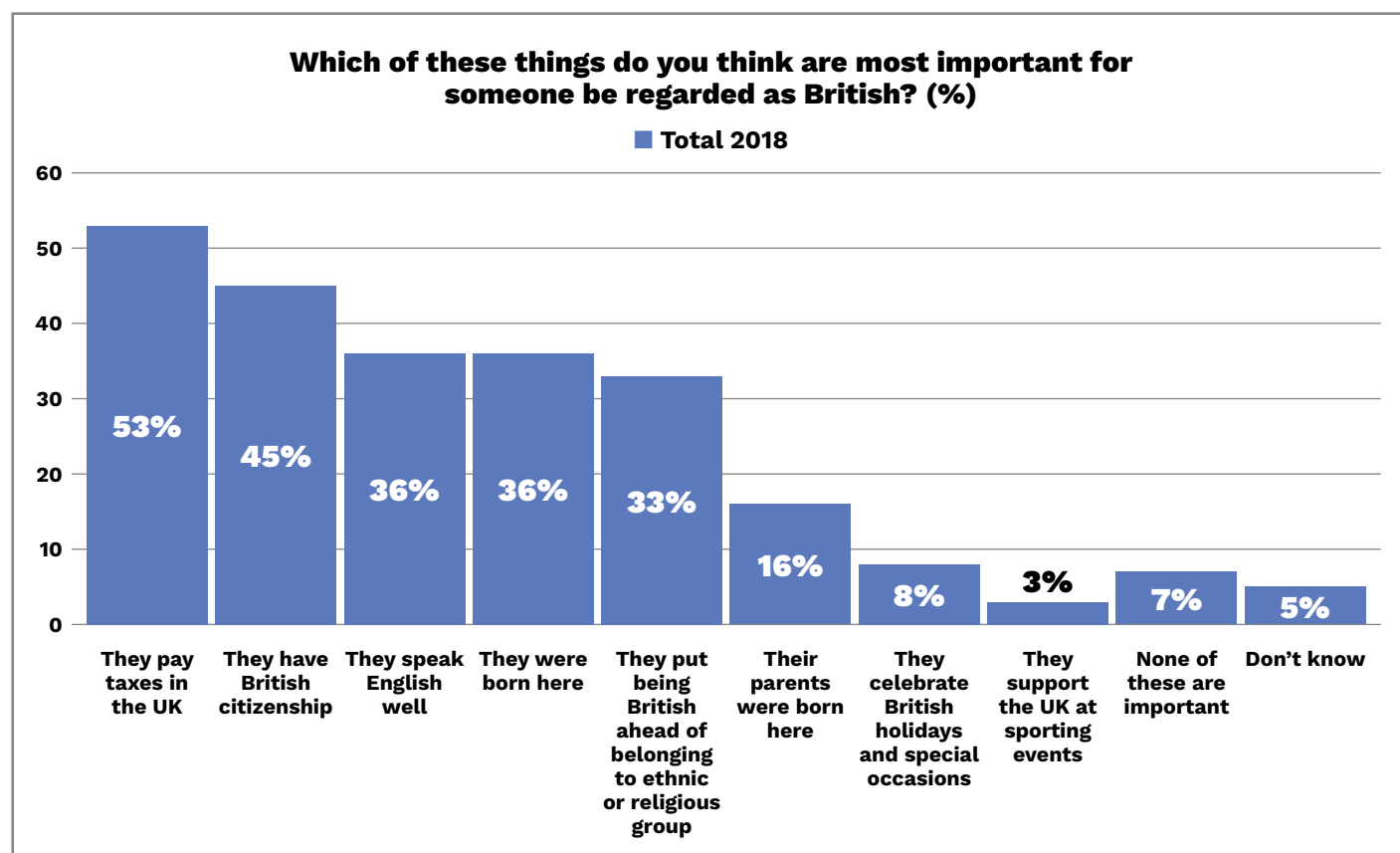
Demographic changes, with Britain becoming more diverse, as well as increasingly liberal social attitudes, have contributed to this.

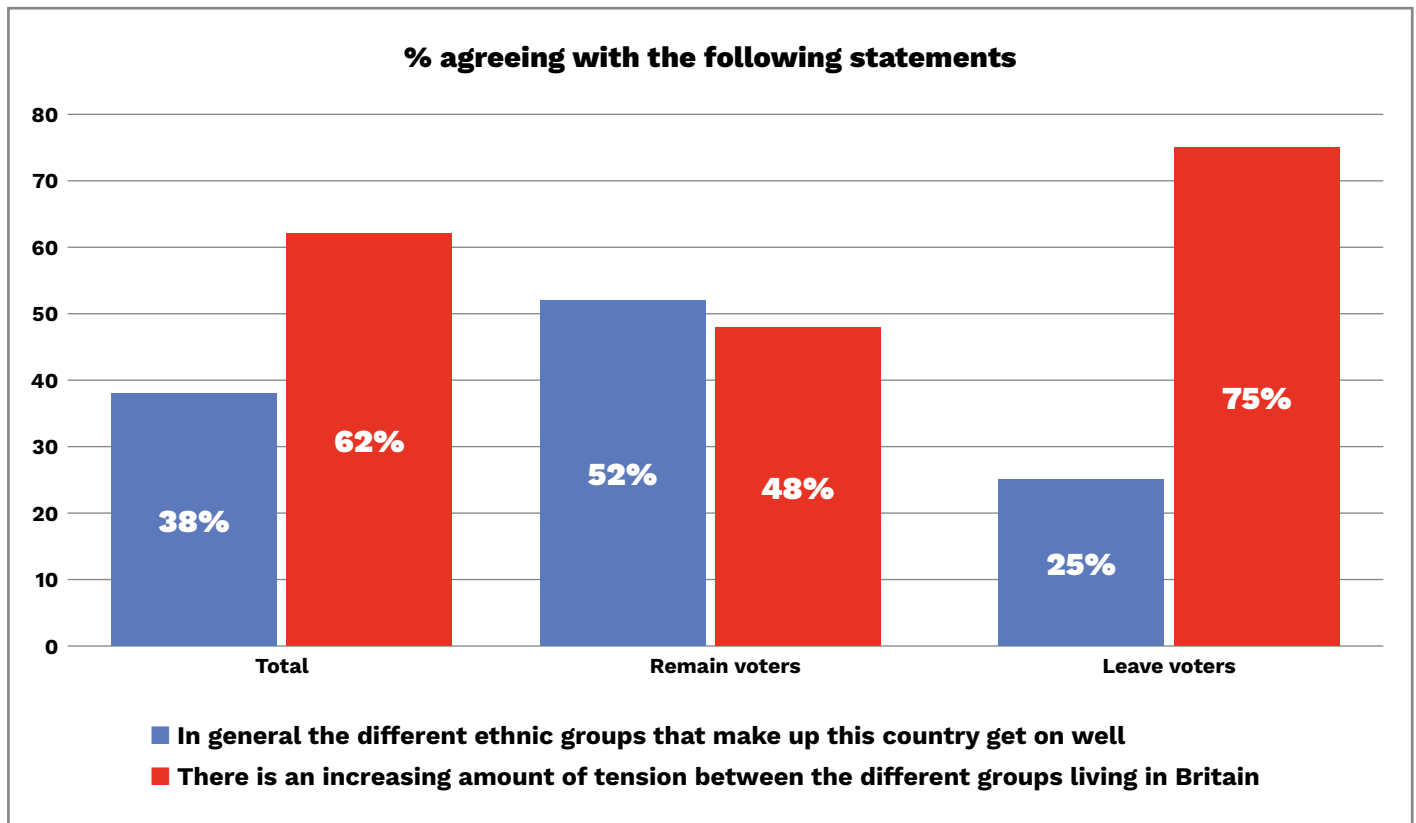
In our 2011 Fear and HOPE study², putting a British identity ahead of belonging to any particular ethnic or religious group was seen as the most important aspect of being British, with 59% of all those polled agreeing with this statement.

This remains an important factor to Conservative Leave voters and to over 65s. But seven years on, just 33% agree with this statement, and instead the most important aspect of being considered British is paying taxes, a statement 53% of our poll agree with.

In 2011, half (49%) of our Fear and HOPE survey felt that being born in the UK was an important factor of being considered British, something only 36% see as important in 2018. In 2011, 30% of those asked felt that it was important for a person's parents to have been born in the UK in order to be considered British, which just 16% of people now see as important.

British citizenship remains an important factor in determining belonging, with 45% agreeing that this is one of the most important aspects for someone to be regarded as British. Speaking English well also remains an important factor for 36% of all respondents, and for 47% of Conservative Leave voters.





Encouragingly, a majority of people (59%) believe that having a wide variety of cultures and backgrounds is part of British culture. This figure has gradually increased since we first posed the question in 2011, when just 49% of people agreed with the statement. This growing support for diversity is a significant positive change that accompanies a broader liberal shift in attitudes.

At the same time, this more open sense of Britishness is not wholly inclusive. 42% of people feel that 'some people are just too different to fit in' compared with 58% who believe 'there's a place for every kind of person in this country'.

There are some stark divisions here between Leave and Remain voters, older generations and younger age groups, those in London and other regions of the UK, and those with low levels of education and the highly educated. 64% of Leave voters aged over 40 feel that some people are too different to fit in, compared to just 16% of under 40 Remain voters.

Men are also considerably more likely than women to feel that some people are 'too different'. Almost half of the men in our survey do not feel there is a place for everyone in this country (47%).

Worryingly, 62% of people believe 'There is an increasing amount of tension between the different groups living in Britain'. This has decreased from 2011 where 71% of people agreed with this statement, but it should be a concern that in 2018 just 38% of those polled feel that different ethnic groups in the UK get along well.

The bar for Britishness may have been lowered, but there are clearly anxieties about those who are not seen to meet the criteria for belonging.

IMMIGRATION

Enoch Powell's speech is held as a pivotal moment in the politicisation of immigration. His legacy is enshrined in political debate: indeed, immigration has been one of the most hotly debated and politically charged topics of recent years, and has consistently occupied the public's 'top 5 most important issues'.

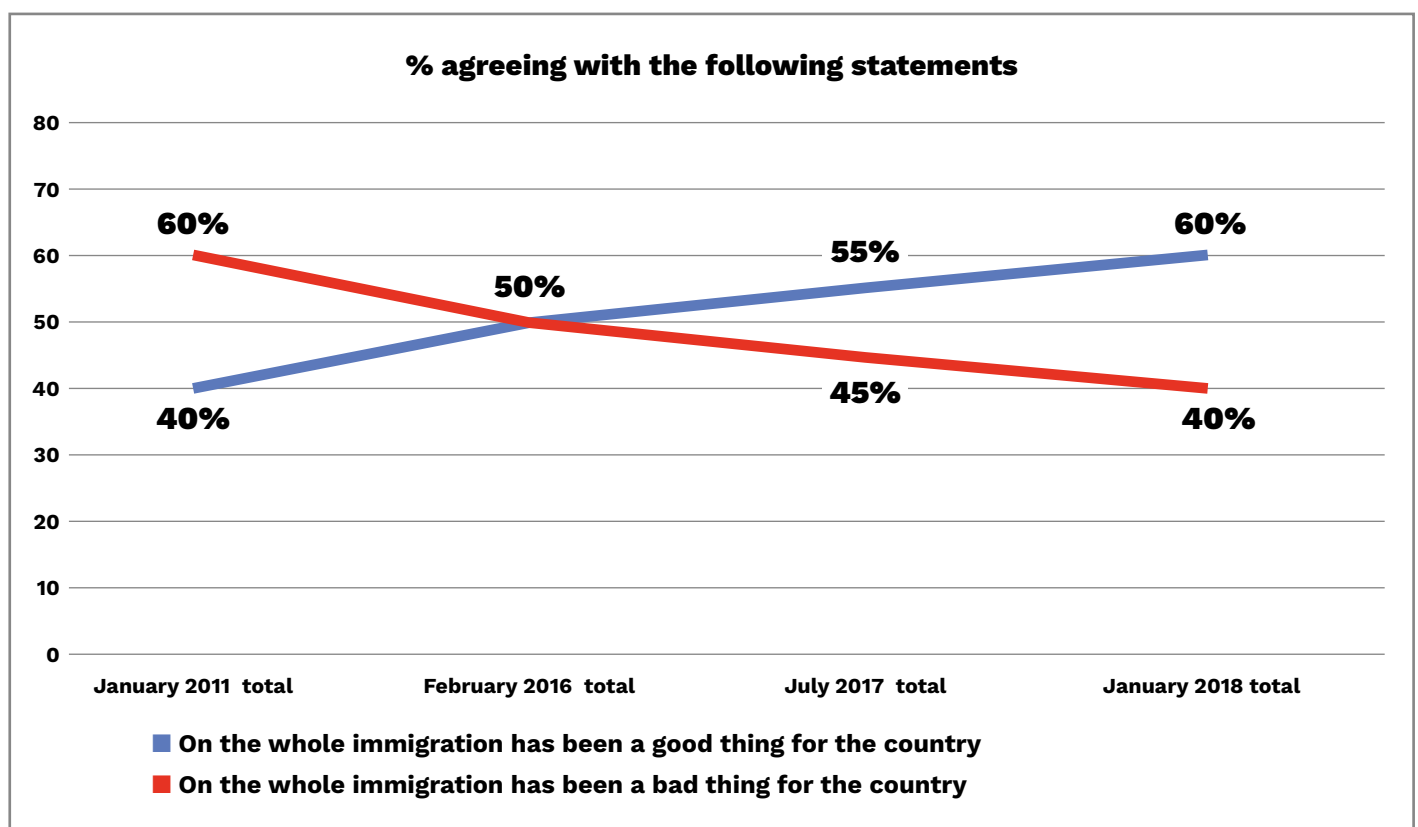
But immigration has become less salient following the EU referendum³. Leaving the EU and healthcare are now considered more significant, and for some migration sceptics immigration has become less important, confident that Brexit will resolve their migration concerns.

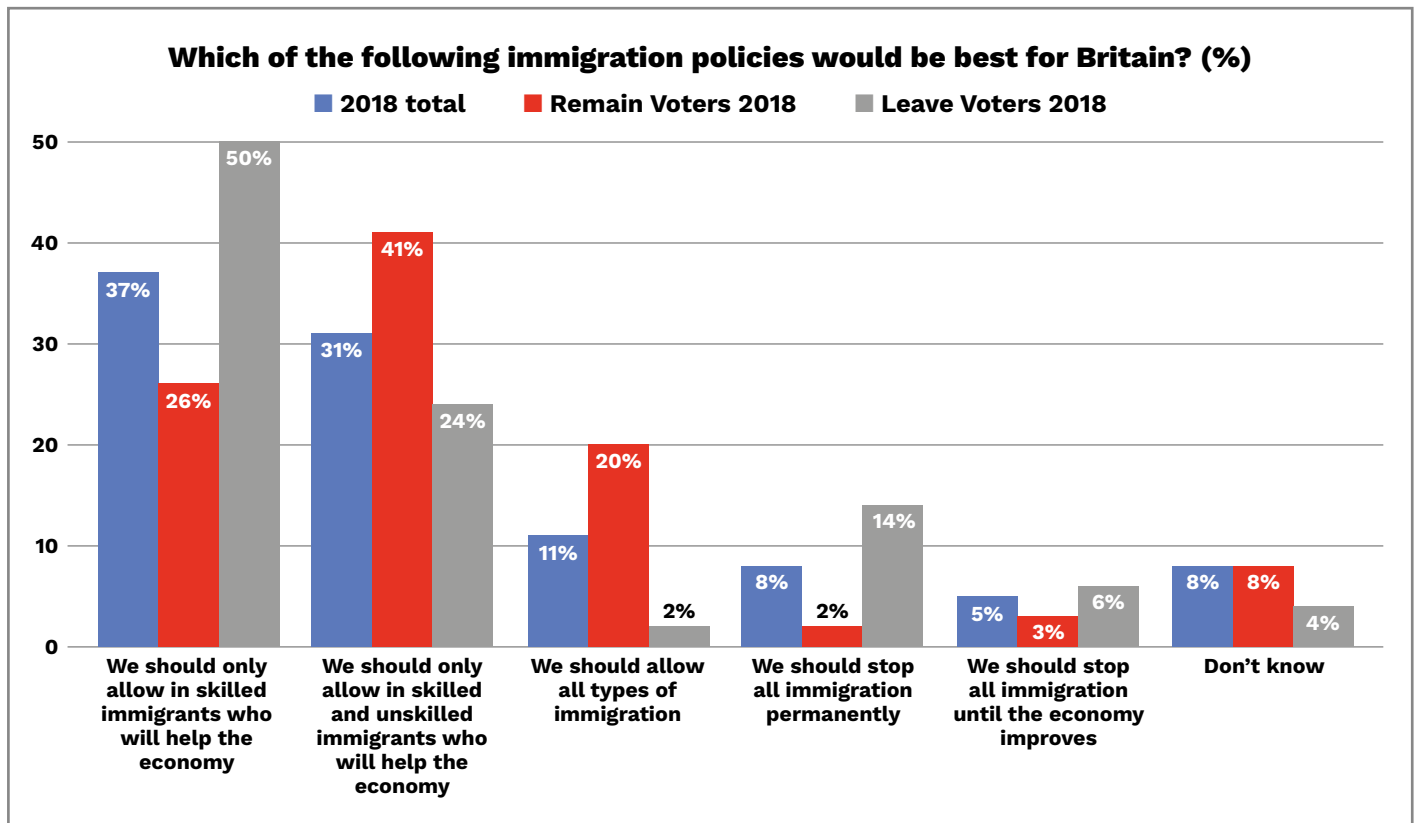
Our 2018 YouGov poll reveals a majority of the public (60%) sees immigration as a good thing for the country, while a minority (40%) think its effects are negative. This reflects a gradual liberal shift we have seen in public attitudes since 2011, when the majority of people polled (60%) felt the UK suffered more than it benefitted from immigration.

Our poll indicates that concerns about immigration centre on pressures migration is perceived to place on public services: 57% of our survey feel most concerned about immigrants claiming benefits and using public services when they've contributed nothing in return, and 51% are worried about immigration increasing the pressure on public services like schools and hospitals. It seems that the fears Powell stoked in his Birmingham speech of "wives unable to obtain hospital beds in childbirth, their children unable to obtain school places" clearly still resonate with the British public.

But there is far less concern about immigration changing the character of their local area (18%), or about migrants displacing British workers in the job market or suppressing wages (16%), with little difference in the views of Leave and Remain voters.

Most people see the benefits of immigration as economic, filling jobs that need doing but that





British people don't want to do. Just a quarter of people (25%) believe cultural diversity is the biggest benefit of immigration, mostly those with more liberal outlooks: Remain and Liberal Democrat voters, younger people, and those with higher levels of education.

The public generally holds balanced and pragmatic views on immigration, and values both contribution and control. A small minority – just 8% – would choose to stop all immigration permanently, a decrease from 18% in 2011.

The majority of the public supports a selective immigration system which benefits the economy, with 37% agreeing that Britain should only admit skilled migrants who can benefit the economy, a similar figure to 2011 (39%). Unskilled migrants are often demonised in political debate, but our poll shows public support for this type of immigration where it benefits the economy. 31% also want to see a system that admits unskilled migrants who can

help the economy, including a quarter of Leave voters (24%).

Our poll shows that attitudes towards immigration are steadily improving, and cultural concerns about immigration are not as significant as the perceived economic impacts. Improving economic conditions, an increasingly diverse population, and newfound optimism among migration sceptics that Brexit will 'solve the problem' have all contributed to relaxing attitudes about immigration overall, but old tensions have not disappeared.

Views on immigration are closely tied to a person's broader outlook on nation, ethnicity, integration, diversity, faith, community, economic change, security, social change, individual/ family prospects and standards of living. Immigration may be a less salient issue, but many hold some significant concerns about integration, and see growing tensions between different ethnic groups.

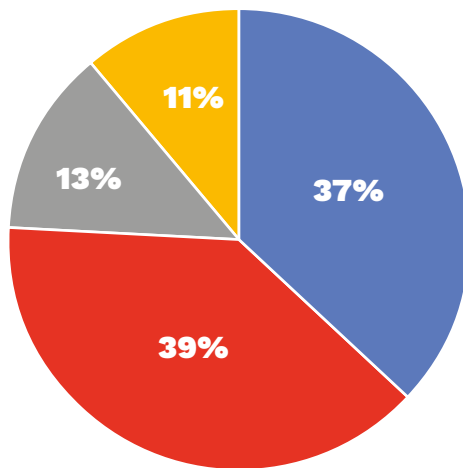
IMMIGRATION (CONTINUED)

THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE AND IDENTITY

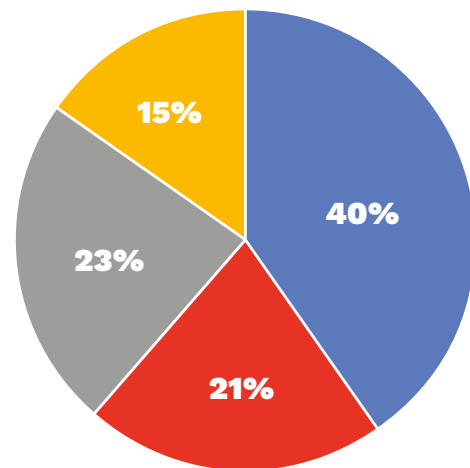
People are far more likely to see both positive and negative impacts of immigration through an economic lens than a cultural one. 57% of people are concerned about ‘immigrants claiming benefits & using public services when they’ve contributed nothing in return’ whereas ‘changing the character of local areas with large numbers of people who are not originally from Britain’ is a far less salient issue, just 18% of the population see this as an important issue.

However, questions around culture and identity are still dominant issues. People are more likely to think multiculturalism has had a negative than a positive effect on British culture, despite seeing positive impacts of multiculturalism on the economy. Almost twice as many people believe multiculturalism has benefitted the economy (40%) than think it has had a negative effect (21%).

Do you think that multiculturalism has a positive effect, negative effect, or no real effect on British culture? (%)



Do you think that multiculturalism has a positive effect, negative effect, or no real effect on the British economy? (%)



■ Positive effect ■ Negative effect ■ No real effect ■ Don't know



Photo: Bread for the World

INTEGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

A failure of multiculturalism was central to Powell's predictions of violence 50 years ago, a fear that English communities would be overrun by migrants with incompatible cultures.

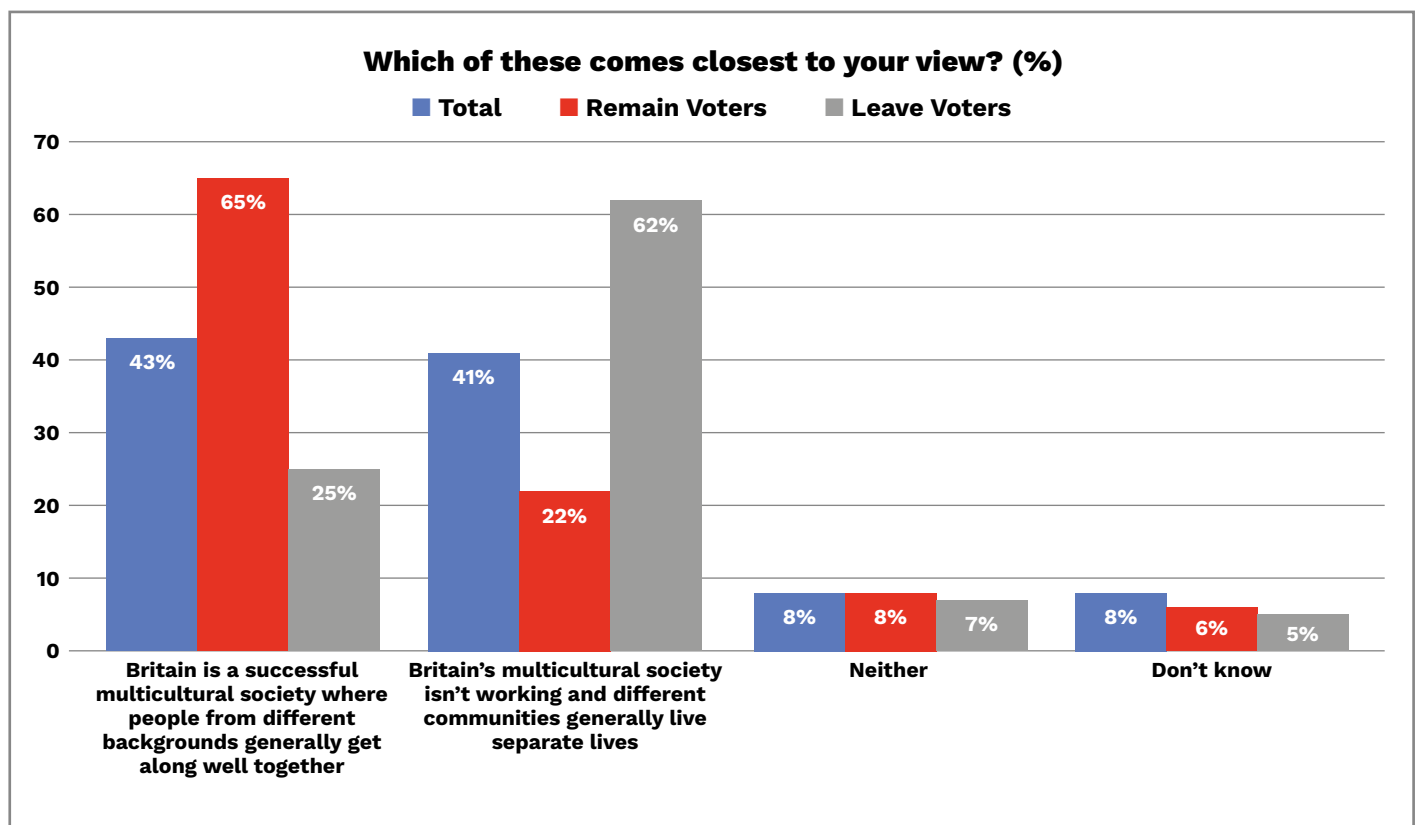
Fifty years on, there is cautious support for multiculturalism among the general population, but it remains a polarising issue: 43% of our poll feel that Britain is a successful multicultural society where people from different backgrounds generally get along well together. However, support for multiculturalism is concentrated among highly educated people, Remain voters and Liberal Democrat supporters.

A view that 'multiculturalism has failed' resonates with a significant share of the population: 41% of our poll, and a massive 67% of Conservative Leave voters, believe that Britain's multicultural society isn't working and different communities generally live separate lives.

People are more likely to see a positive effect of multiculturalism on the British economy (40% positive, 21% negative) than on British culture (37% positive, 39% negative). This may reflect the overlay of attitudes to multiculturalism with immigration, whereby more people see economic gains from immigration than see cultural benefits.

Younger people are most likely to see a positive effect of multiculturalism on both the economy and on British culture than over 40s, unsurprising as they are more likely to have grown up in a diverse environment and on the whole hold more liberal attitudes.

There are big divides between Leave and Remain voters on multiculturalism, reflecting polarisation on other issues of immigration, race and faith. 64% of Remain voters see it as positive for the economy and 61% see it as positive for British culture. Among Leave voters, 34% of people feel multiculturalism



has had a negative effect on the economy, and 62% believe it has had a negative effect on British culture.

Anxieties about multiculturalism are often tied to anxiety about a declining sense of people's own identity. A significant proportion of our poll feels negatively about the impact immigration has had on British identity: 36% believe immigration has changed British identity for the worse, while just 11% of people see British identity changed for the better by immigration. Among Leave voters, just 3% think immigration has changed British identity for the better, while 60% think it has changed British identity for the worse.

Of course, multiculturalism has not failed. Our communities are mostly convivial, and are not caught in violent conflict. But our poll indicates that resistance to multiculturalism is quite deeply embedded. As our society becomes increasingly diverse, maintaining positive relations between different groups is crucial. The assertion that multiculturalism has failed needs to be challenged and we need to find ways to address underlying resentments.

FROM IMMIGRANTS TO MUSLIMS

Concerns around immigration have declined since our first Fear and HOPE study in 2011. In 2018, 20% more think immigration has had a positive effect than seven years ago.

At the same time, attitudes towards Muslims in Britain have hardened. Between 2011-2016, attitudes to Muslims in Britain had gradually improved, as part of a broader liberal shift in attitudes. However, this trend had been reversed in the wake of recent terror attacks. In our 2017 poll, a quarter of English people believed that Islam is “a dangerous religion that incites violence”. 42% of all respondents felt that recent terror attacks had increased their suspicion of Muslims.

Our polling reflects this trend. While more people across political and demographic groups think Caribbean, African and Eastern European immigrants are integrating well than think they are not, Pakistani migrants are seen differently. 44% of people, and a huge 60% of Leave voters, think Pakistani migrants are not integrating into British society, compared to just 34% overall who think they are. Only 10% of people think all Muslims want to integrate. 37% of people think Islam poses a threat to the British way of life, while 33% see Islam as generally compatible with the British way of life.

At the same time, people realise Muslims face discrimination. 58% of people think Muslims face discrimination in the media, and 71% of people think Muslims face discrimination in society in general.

LOOKING FORWARD: RIVERS OF BLOOD?

Population estimates vary, but it is not disputed that the UK is rapidly becoming a more diverse country. Some believe that by 2050, 30% of the UK's population will be from black and minority ethnic groups⁴, while Oxford demographer David Coleman sets the rate much higher, arguing that by 2060 white British people will be a minority⁵.

When given Coleman's population estimates, the majority of people react negatively. For Londoners, Labour or Liberal Democrat supporters, Remain voters, under 25s, or highly educated people, the most common response was indifference. However, the majority of our poll feels uneasy (35%) or unhappy (31%) or disappointed (25%) at Coleman's suggestions. The strongest responses are negative, uneasy or unhappiness, held by Conservative voters, 65+s or Leave voters. This discomfort at Britain's growing diversity paints a worrying picture of race relations in the UK.

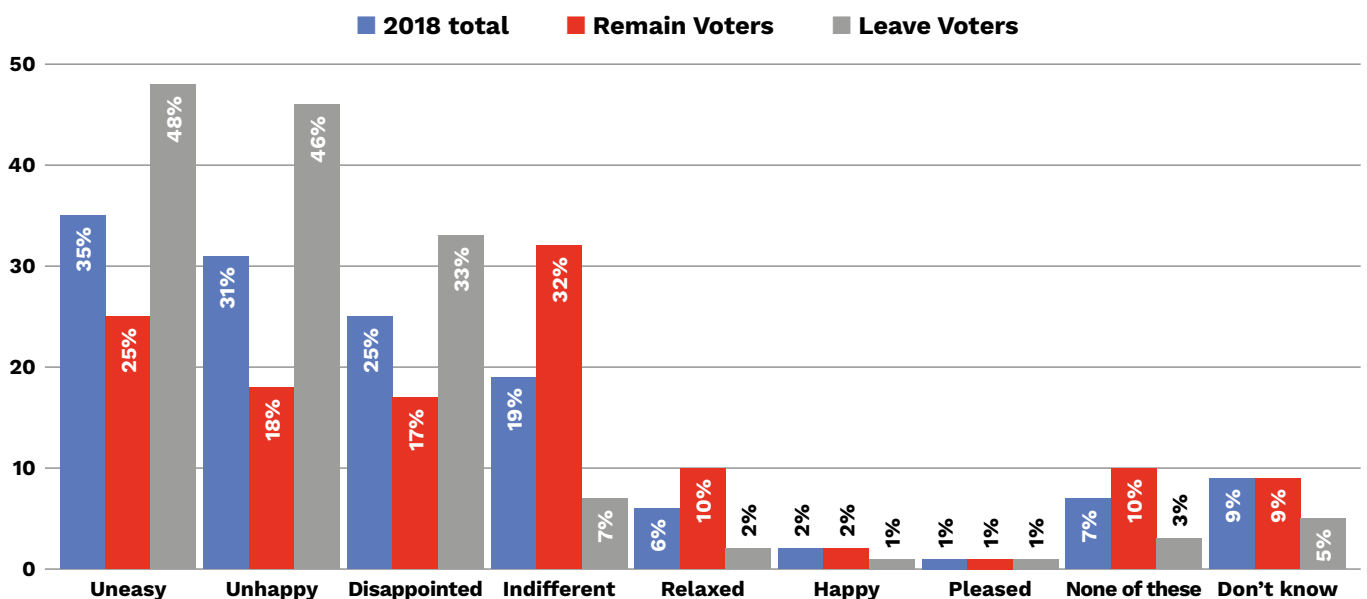
This unease is further reflected in how people feel about future community relations. When asked 'Thinking about the relationships between different

communities within the UK, do you think they will generally get better or worse over the next few years or will there be very little change?' there is little optimism. 43% of all respondents think that things will get worse, and just 14% of people believe that relationships between different communities will get better. Worryingly, this crosses many demographic and political divides.

Our post-referendum poll in 2016 found 63% of people felt that Britain is more divided as a result of the vote. We also saw an increase in the numbers of people who believe there are tensions between different communities at a local and national level. The referendum may have had some effect in denting public optimism about community relations, but anxiety about future social relations also reflects wider doomsday thinking about a future where multiculturalism is perceived to have failed. Disturbingly, many feel that these community tensions will lead to violence.

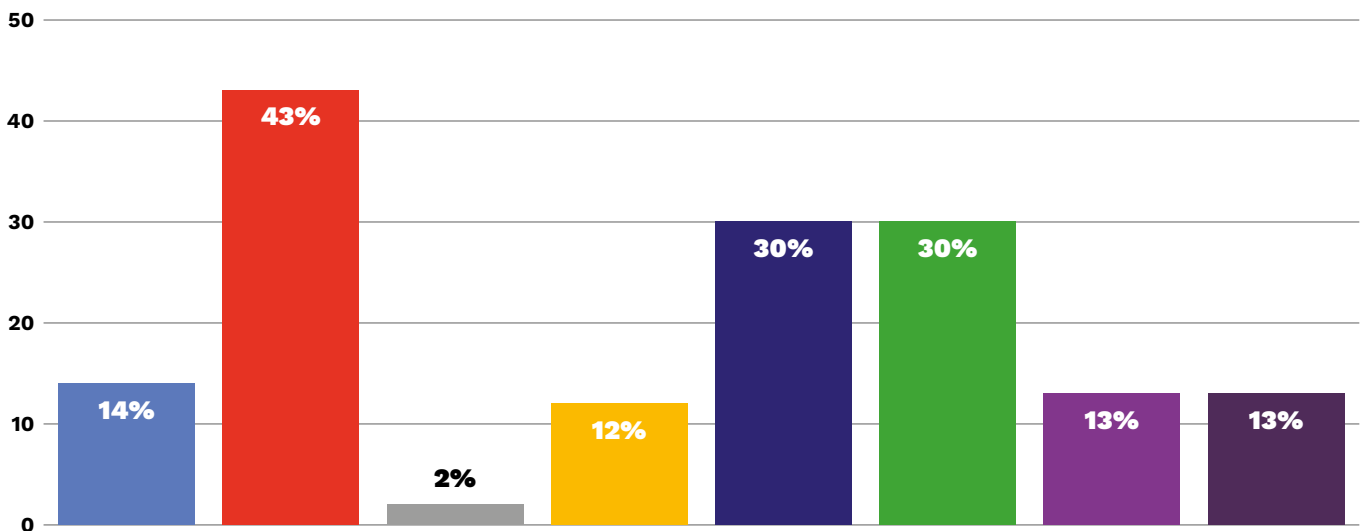
Society has changed considerably from when Enoch Powell made his Rivers of Blood speech, but the

It has been suggested that white British people could be a minority in the UK by the 2060s due to current immigration patterns. If this does happen, which one or two of the following words would best describe how it makes you feel? (%)



Thinking about the relationships between different communities within the UK, do you think they will generally get better or worse over the next few years or will there be very little change? (%)

■ TOTAL GET BETTER ■ TOTAL GET WORSE ■ Get a lot better ■ Get a little better
■ Neither get better nor worse ■ Get a little worse ■ Get a lot worse ■ Don't know



fears he stoked linger. A Gallup poll conducted weeks after the speech found 74% of the British population agreed with what Mr. Powell had said. Our polling shows that although there is far less public support for this sentiment today, his words continue to resonate with much of the public.

We asked: 'Fifty years ago, a senior politician controversially warned that mass immigration would produce social breakdown and predicted "rivers of blood". In hindsight, do you think this warning has proved to be right or wrong?' While 41% felt that Powell was wrong in his prediction of conflict and violence, 40% felt that these predictions had been right. Society is clearly not as comfortable with itself as we might think.

The public is hugely divided along political and demographic lines over Enoch Powell's predictions. Among Leave voters, 64% of people feel that Enoch was right, with just 20% answer that his predictions were wrong. Among Remain voters, just 18% felt that the statements were right, with 67% feeling that these were wrong.

There are also clear divides between older and younger people, social grades ABC1 and C2DE, London and the rest of the UK, and educational levels. 55% of over 65s feel that Enoch Powell was right, compared to 20% of 18-25 year olds. 48% of C2DEs feel that this was right, while 49% of ABC1s feel this was wrong. 57% of those with secondary level education or less believe Enoch was right, compared with 64% of those with postgraduate education who feel he was wrong.

A lot has happened in 50 years, but Enoch Powell's ominous predictions still resonate with many. Worryingly, this prediction of violence between ethnic groups is a cornerstone of much far right ideology, and influences movements from street groups to the alt-right, which predicts that multiculturalism's failure will result in a "race war". This ideological shift into public attitudes is made all the more worrying when put against the context of increasing diversity and population change.

INTEGRATION

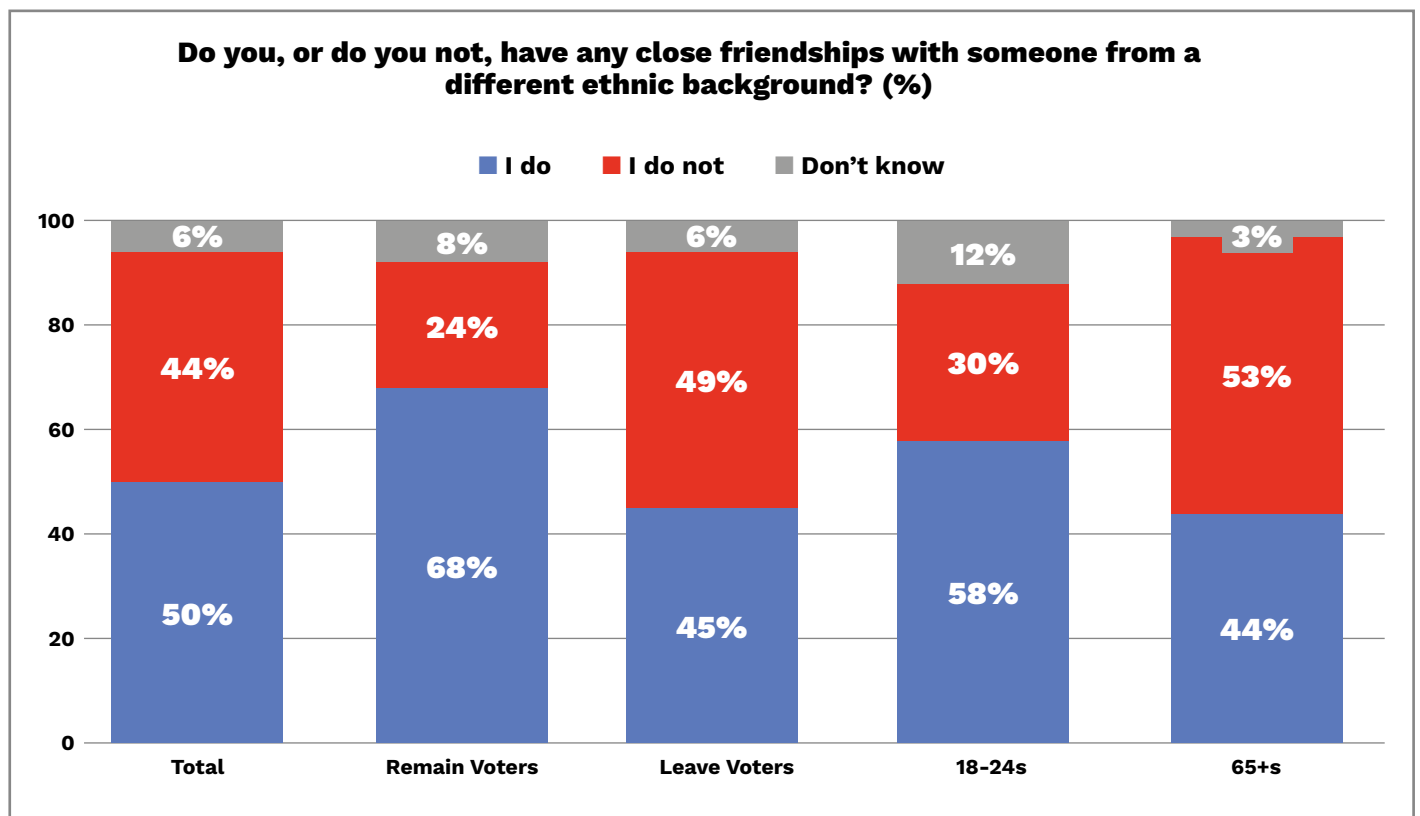
Powell saw core cultural differences that he believed would lead to conflict and bloodshed: “The other dangerous delusion from which those who are wilfully or otherwise blind to realities suffer, is summed up in the word ‘integration.’ Powell did not see all immigration as a negative thing, nor did he believe migrants could not integrate. But it was his view that the majority of migrants did not want to integrate which would cause “the preservation and sharpening of racial and religious differences, with a view to the exercise of actual domination, first over fellow-immigrants and then over the rest of the population”.

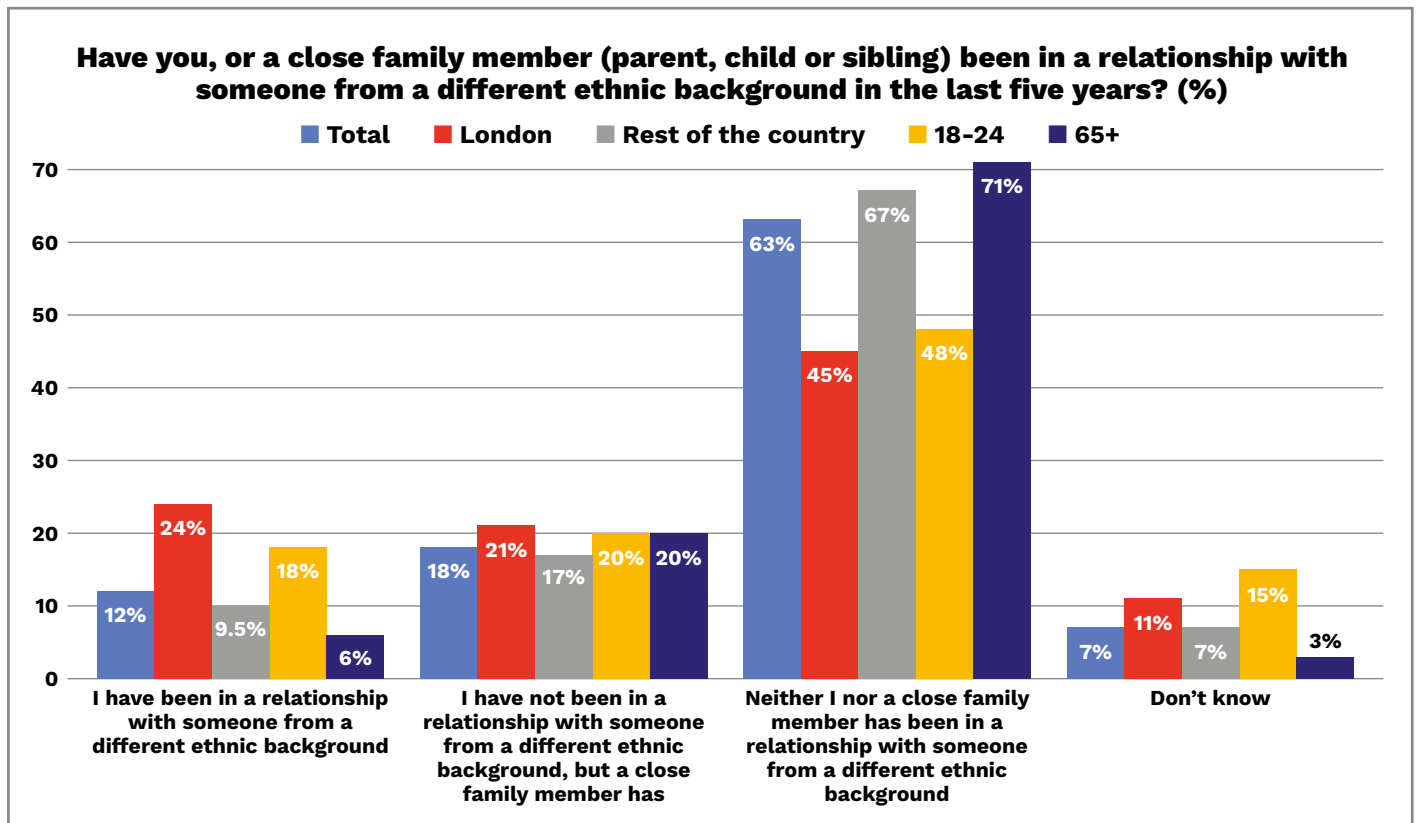
Integration has crept up the political agenda over the last two years, with the Casey Review⁶ followed by MHCLG’s Integrated Communities Strategy green paper⁷ just a few weeks ago. Debates continue about what integration actually entails, an assimilationist approach against a two-way street approach, or what it means (and who decides what it means) to be “integrated”.

Our polling leaves the term open to interpretation in order to better reflect how “integration” is seen by the public, and looks at social contact between people of different backgrounds.

Around half of all respondents have close friendships with someone from a different ethnic background to their own – this goes up to 58% for 18-24 year olds and 68% of all Londoners – while 44% say they don’t. Only 37% of Scots say they have any close friends of a different ethnic background, perhaps unsurprising given Scotland’s population is less diverse than many other parts of the UK.

12% of all respondents have been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnic background in the last five years, which increases to around a quarter of Londoners (24%), and 18% of 18-25 year olds. 18% of all those asked said that while they themselves have not, a close family member had been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnic background in the last five years.





This question crosses generational divides, as 20% of both 18-25s and 65+s state that this is true for them. 63% of people say that neither they nor a close family member has been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnic background.

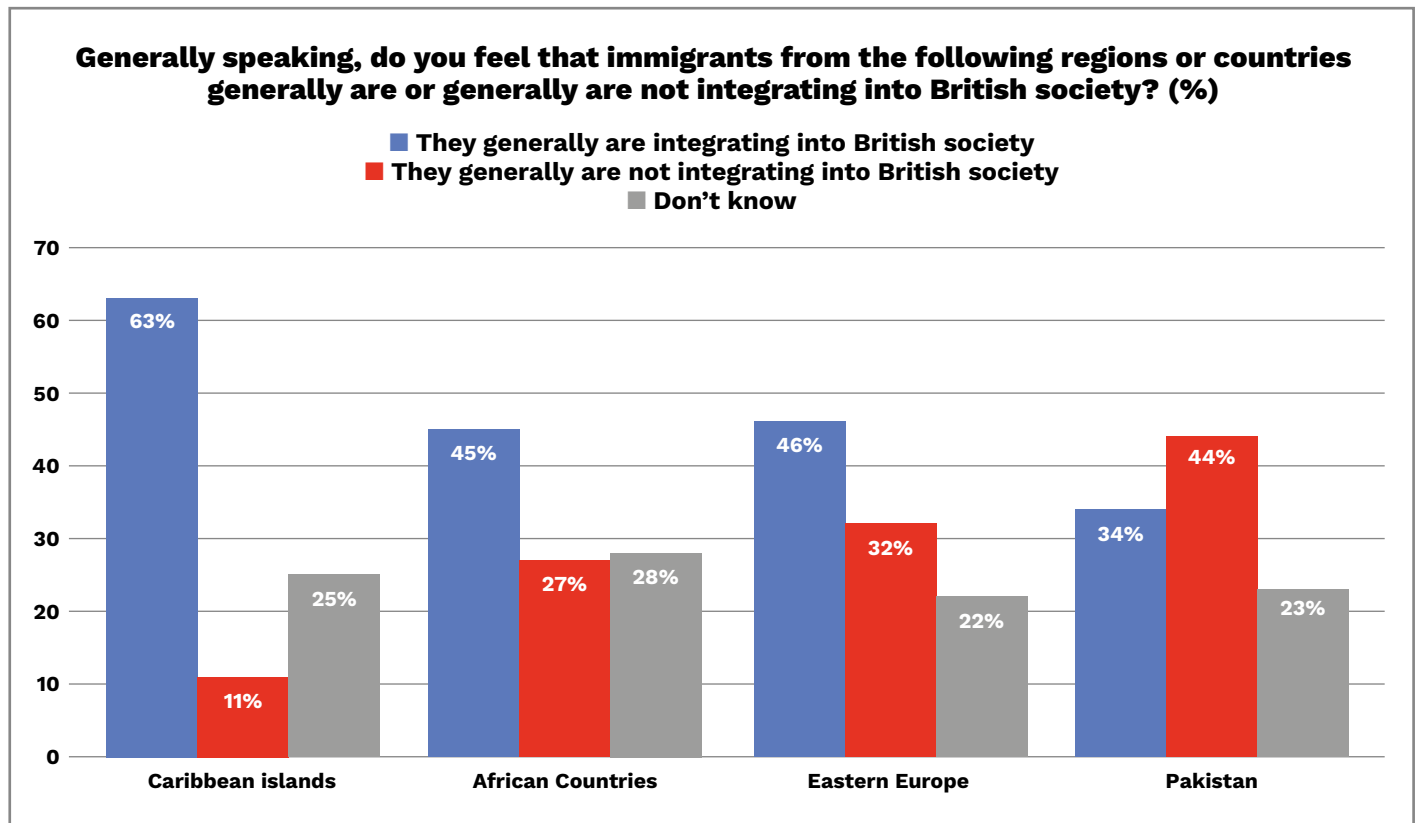
Despite gloomy perceptions of relations between different ethnic groups, it seems relations between people of different ethnic backgrounds have not led to social breakdown. The fact that more people have than do not have friends from different backgrounds, and that a quarter of Londoners have been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnic background to themselves, is significant. Positively, these trends cross many social and political divides.

When people are asked how they feel different groups of migrants have integrated into British society, there is a clear hierarchy of preference. However, there are no significant differences in attitudes between Londoners and the rest of the country, despite Londoners generally holding more liberal attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism.

Most people (63%) across all demographic, socioeconomic, and political divides feel Caribbean migrants are integrating well. A tiny minority – 11% – say Caribbean migrants are not integrating. Caribbean migrants are often cited as an integration ‘success story’. Less than half of Caribbeans in the UK settle down with a fellow Caribbean, and a child under 10 with a Caribbean parent is more than twice as likely not to have a white parent⁸. But it is worth noting that 94% of Britain’s black Caribbean population was born in the UK, compared to just over half of those of Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds. Further, while educational attainment is similar to white British people, Caribbeans in the UK are less likely to be home owners and face significant socioeconomic disadvantages⁹.

African and Eastern European migrants are generally seen to be integrating, and despite the differences between these groups generate similar responses. 45% of people agree that African migrants integrate well, while 27% feel that they are not integrating. 46%

INTEGRATION (CONTINUED)



think that Eastern European migrants are integrating well, while 32% believe they are not. However, Leave voters are more likely to see both groups as not integrating.

Public attitudes towards the integration of African and Eastern European migrants generate divided responses between demographic and political groups. Again, younger people, highly educated people, Labour and Liberal Democrat voters, those in social grades ABC1, and Remain voters all see integration more positively.

When asked whether they feel Pakistani immigrants are integrating, people respond more negatively than any other group. More people (44%) say they are not integrating into British society, than feel that they are integrating (34%). These negative responses are most profound among Conservative and Leave voters: 64% of Conservative Leave voters feel that Pakistani migrants are not integrating into British society.

Younger people are more likely to feel that they are integrating successfully into society, as are liberals and highly educated people.

The spotlight is often shone on Pakistanis in public debate around integration, or the supposed failure of integration. Pakistani women were the focus of the Casey Review, generating newspaper headlines such as “*Pakistani women NOT integrated into UK society*”⁰, or “*Shockingly badly integrated’ Pakistani women live in ‘entirely different society’*”¹.

Given this negative public image, it is perhaps understandable why people might not see Pakistani integration so favourably. But the picture of Pakistani integration is complex. Pakistanis are more likely to be home owners than most other ethnic minorities, and are more likely to go into education after A levels than white or Caribbean students. But they are also the most likely group to be in low income work, and suffer higher levels of unemployment than those of white or Indian ethnicity¹².

Further, pessimism around the integration of Pakistani immigrants is likely to reflect underlying anti-Muslim discrimination, and a perception that Muslims are significantly different from the wider population, or that Islam is incompatible with the British way of life.



FAITH AND BELONGING

Our previous 2017 Fear and HOPE report found anxieties towards race, faith and belonging increasingly focused towards Muslims and Islam. Muslims are regarded as uniquely different from the majority British public: just 10% of those polled in 2017 believed Muslims were similar to them.

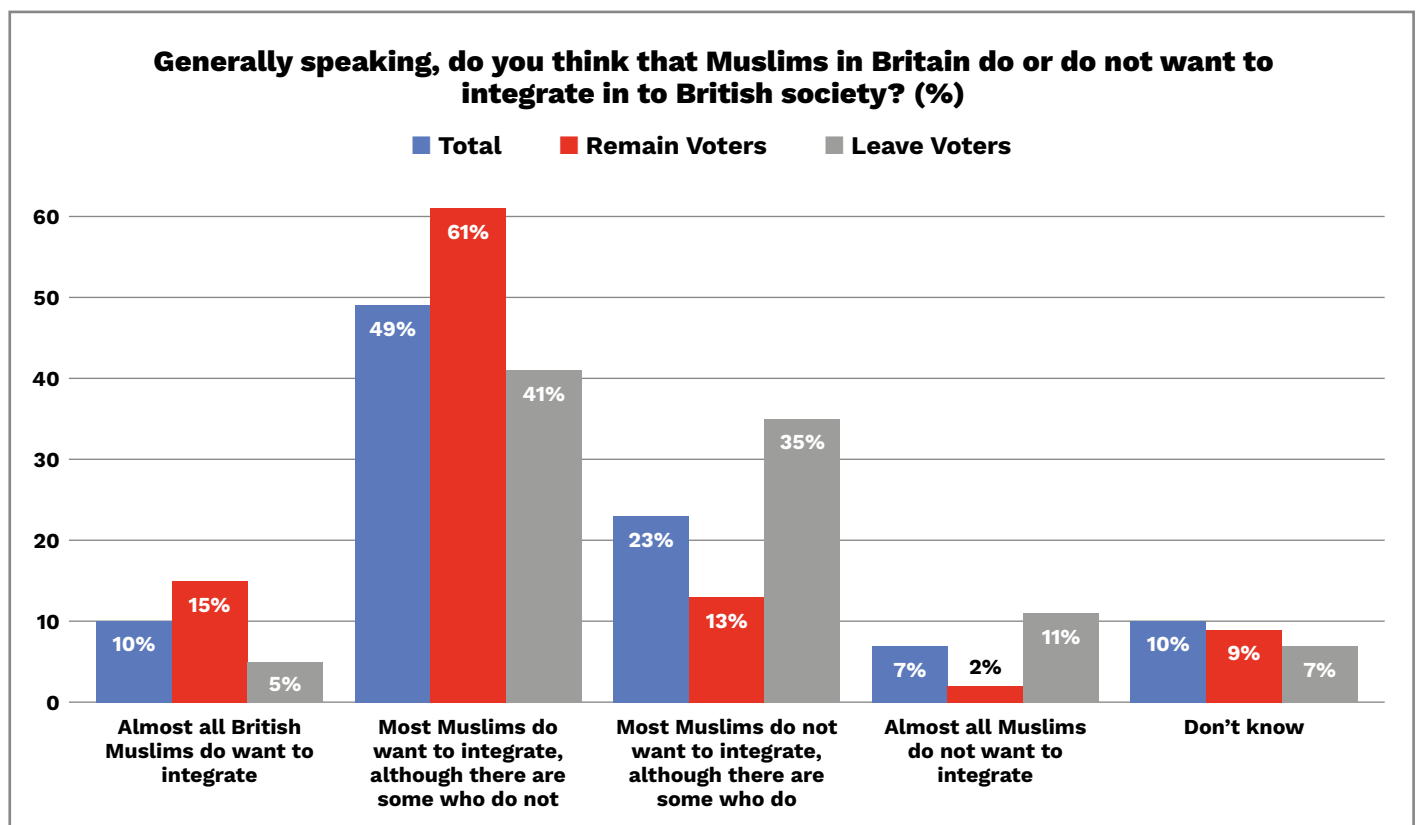
Overall, most people agree that Muslims want to integrate, although there are some Muslims that do not. But almost a quarter of our poll (23%) think that most Muslims do not want to integrate despite the few that do; 7% feel that almost all Muslims do not want to integrate.

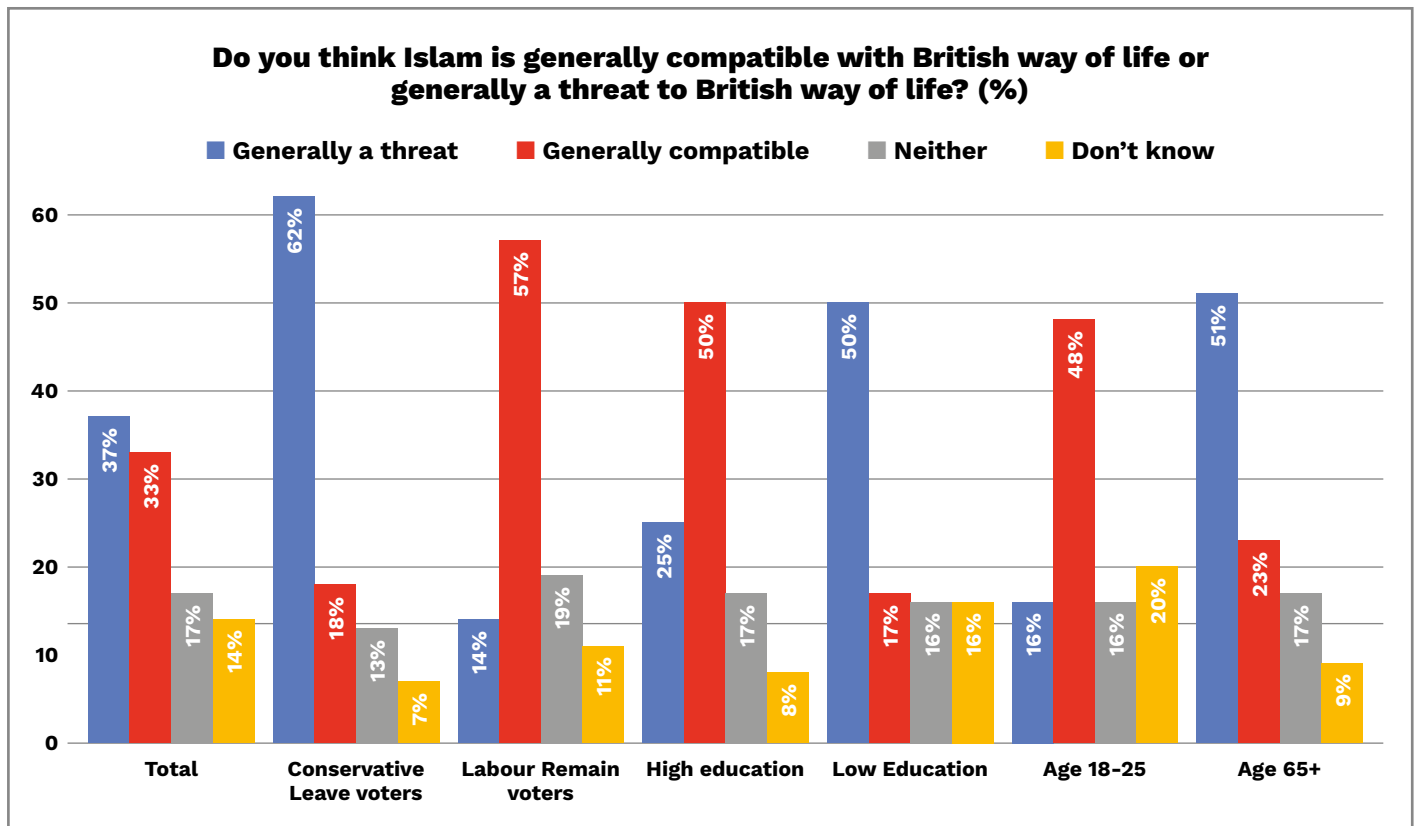
Although there is widespread scepticism about Muslims' intentions to integrate, there is an acknowledgement of the discrimination faced by Muslims in Britain. Most people agree that Muslims face discrimination in the media (58% overall) and even more think Muslims face discrimination in society in general (71% overall). This extends across political and demographic divides, although younger people, Remain, Labour and Liberal Democrat voters

and Londoners are all more likely to think that Muslims face discrimination.

However, when asked if they feel Islam is generally compatible with the British way of life, a small majority of people feel that it in fact poses a threat. 37% of all respondents see Islam as a threat to the British way of life compared to 33% who see the Muslim faith and the British way of life as compatible. Responses to this question are predictably polarised. A huge 62% of Conservative Leave voters see Islam as a threat compared to 57% of Labour Remain voters who, conversely, see compatibility.

The spate of terror attacks which hit the UK in 2017 have also had an enduring impact on attitudes towards Muslims in Britain: 18% of people in our survey are more suspicious of British Muslims following the terrorist attacks last year and the way British Muslims responded to the attacks. Meanwhile, 24% felt there was no difference, although they were already suspicious before. There are clear demographic and political divides in who holds





anxieties and to what extent, with only 9% of 18-25 year-olds and 6% of under 40 Remain voters feeling more suspicious compared to 22% of over 65s and 28% of over 40 Leave voters.

However, these responses are far lower than the 42% of people in England who felt more suspicious of Muslims as a result of the attacks in our Fear and HOPE polling in July 2017, shortly after the incidents. This may be as a consequence of greater nuance in the question in this round of polling, but also shows a recovery of anxieties over time.

At the same time, a link between Islamic extremism and a failure of integration is drawn by a high proportion of the British public. A large percentage of people (43%) want to see a crackdown on extremists in all communities, and this is seen as the most popular strategy to improve integration and good community relations. This is put above compulsory English classes for new immigrants, community initiatives which help people of different backgrounds to mix, reducing immigration, or government action preventing the formation of segregated communities.

The 'burqa' remains a contentious point for many, especially over 65s, Conservative and Leave voters. 46% of over 65s and 49% of Conservative Leave voters think banning religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa, would improve community

relations compared to just 12% of 18-25 year olds and 11% of Labour Remain voters.

Conservative and Leave voters opt for law and order approaches to improve community relations, such as closer monitoring of faith schools. Younger people, Londoners, more educated people, and Remain voters prefer community responses or feel that more positive media coverage of Muslims in Britain would be more effective.

Nonetheless, there is a consensus across demographic and political groups that language classes, and initiatives that bring people together and limit residential segregation, are important. Despite prominence in current political debates on integration, making immigrants swear an oath to British values is not significantly popular across any group – just 11% of people overall feel this would help people to get along better.

GENERATIONAL CHANGE SINCE ENOCH

Our research shows that young people overwhelmingly reject Enoch Powell's dire vision of modern Britain, with most taking the view that multicultural Britain is working, and people get along well. But there is pessimism about the future, especially among older people.

Our poll highlights a generation gap in the way people think about multicultural society. Younger people see relations in British society far more positively than older generations, and are more likely to see diversity as a part of everyday life:

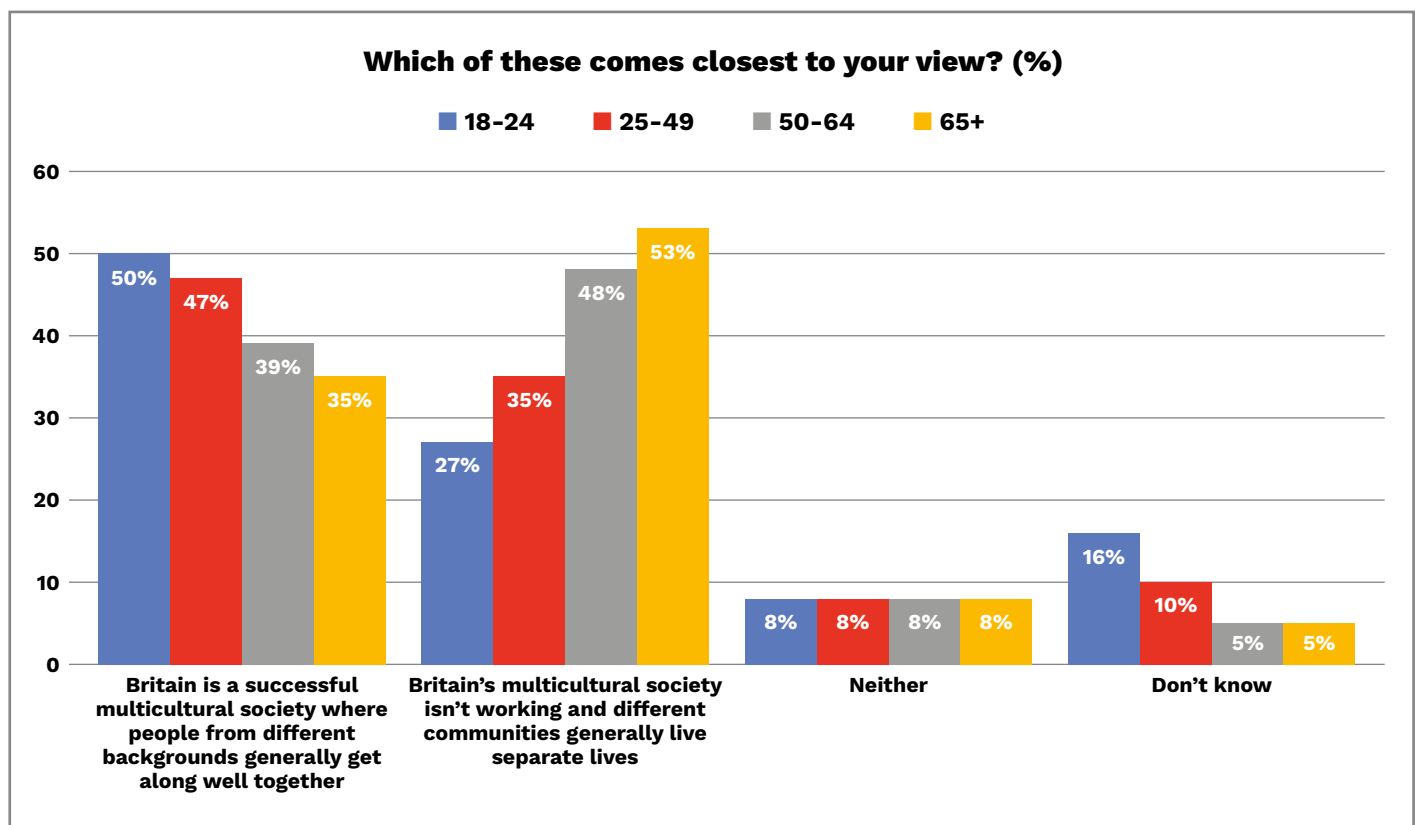
- Younger generations who are more likely to have grown up in more diverse environments than their elders, and tend to mix more with people of different ethnicities. Only 30% of 18-24 year olds do not have close friends of different ethnicities to themselves, while more than half of 65+s do not. 18-24 year olds are three times as likely than over 65s to have been in a relationship with someone of a different ethnicity.

- Over 65s, who are most likely to remember Enoch Powell and the rivers of blood speech are also most likely to agree with the gloomy predictions he posed. 55% of over 65s feel that Enoch Powell was right, compared to 20% of 18-24 year olds.

Pessimism about multiculturalism increases with age-groups, and those under 25 are more than twice as likely than over 65s to think that multiculturalism has a positive effect on British culture- just 25% of this older group see it's benefits.

People under 25 are most likely to feel indifferent at the prospect of a white minority population by 2060, whereas over 65s are most likely to feel uneasy or unhappy. They are also more likely to feel positive about future immigration, and just 15% of 18-24 year olds think immigration has changed British culture for the worse compared with almost half of over 65s (49%).

Over 65s are the most confident age group in their belief that Caribbean immigrants are integrating well



Generally speaking, do you feel that immigrants from the following regions or countries generally are or generally are not integrating into British society? (%)

Age	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+
CARIBBEAN ISLANDS				
They generally are integrating into British society	53	59	68	71
They generally are not integrating into British society	11	11	12	13
AFRICAN COUNTRIES				
They generally are integrating into British society	51	47	43	40
They generally are not integrating into British society	18	22	34	35
EASTERN EUROPE				
They generally are integrating into British society	50	44	47	44
They generally are not integrating into British society	21	30	34	40
PAKISTAN				
They generally are integrating into British society	43	36	33	26
They generally are not integrating into British society	26	37	50	58

into society- 71% agree, while younger age groups see that they are integrating well, but with a greater degree of uncertainty. This may be based on their memories and their own experiences of Windrush migration, a migration flow they have lived through. Seventy years ago the Windrush discharged its passengers at Tilbury, an important landmark in the history of modern Britain. 1948 marked the beginning of the mass immigration to the UK, resulting in an estimated 172,000 West Indian born people living in the UK by 1961.

By contrast, 58% of over 65s do not think that Pakistani migrants are integrating into society, over twice the proportion of under 25s who share this view. Pakistani migration is newer, and began on a large scale after the Windrush in the 1960s. Large migration flows continue today and Pakistan is still the third sender country of migrants by country of birth¹³.

For most, Pakistani migrants are seen to be distinctly different in terms of how well they have integrated, with most holding negative views. However, there is little difference in how well 18-24s see the integration of different migrant groups. They are the only age group where more people feel Pakistani migrants are integrating well into society than feel they are not.

Cultural concerns, particularly those around Islam and Muslims, resonate far more with older generations. 46% of over 65s think banning religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa, would improve community relations compared to just 12% of 18-24 year olds.

Optimism among younger people translates into resilience. In response to the recent terror attacks,

only 9% of 18-24 year olds feel more suspicious compared to 22% of over 65s.

Over 65s will best remember Powell and his Rivers of Blood speech, something which may seem irrelevant to many young people today. Our poll shows a more positive vision for the future, with younger people far less susceptible to Powell's messages, and more confident about an increasingly diverse Britain.

CONCLUSION

At face value our poll paints a bleak picture of how many people in the UK feel about modern Britain, but there is hope in these findings.

Understandings of identity have become more open, and concerns about immigration are in decline. On the whole people are mixing well, and generally feel positively about their community. Nonetheless, with so much public anxiety about future relations between ethnic groups in the context of a rapidly changing population, there is much to be done to improve both perceptions and realities of multi-ethnic Britain.

Although Powell was wrong about his apocalyptic vision for Britain, the endurance of his speech and our own poll shows that progressives cannot avoid difficult questions about integration, particularly while the dominant narrative is so toxic, or fall back on a celebratory rhetoric of multiculturalism.

It is precisely because of the toxic nature of these debates that progressive voices need to be heard. We need to start shifting the gap between gloomy perceptions of multiculturalism and the convivial reality, to show that multiculturalism has not failed (though the results have been uneven) while acknowledging that relations between communities are not always rosy.

The recent terror attacks on the UK raised the profile of integration, with many shining the spotlight onto Muslim communities. We cannot allow the debate to be dominated by a 'multiculturalism has failed' position that conflates extremism with a failure of integration. These approaches, which blame minorities for failing to adapt, reinforce a belief that some people – usually identified as Muslims – are too different to belong. Ultimately, these narratives push people further apart. Integration is hugely complicated, and is as much about socioeconomic divides and opportunity as it is about culture. We need to ensure a more holistic approach to integration.

Integration has crept up the political agenda over the last few years, with the Casey Review followed most recently by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government's Integrated Communities Strategy green paper just a few weeks ago. The Government has marked a move away from the assimilationist position outlined in Casey's report towards a two-way street approach, a development that should be welcomed. At the same time, the new commission for countering extremism contradicts

this, again conflating violent extremism with a failure of integration.

Integration is a messy and difficult subject, and it seems the Government is still finding its feet on these issues. Our polling sets a challenge to the debate here. We need an approach which does not play into existing fears. It is clear big changes are needed to improve public trust in a multicultural society, to reach a point where Rivers of Blood no longer resonates.



NOTES

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4 Policy Exchange, 2014, A Portrait of Modern Britain <https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/a-portrait-of-modern-britain/>

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7 Integrated Communities strategy Paper, 2018, <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/integrated-communities-strategy-green-paper>

8 The Economist (2016) The Next Generation <https://www.economist.com/news/britain/21689606-mainly-caribbean-community-has-become-mainly-african-oneand-poised-become-more>

9 Quartz (2017) The UK's Conservative government has put Britain's racial inequality on display <https://qz.com/1099723/the-uks-conservative-government-has-put-britains-racial-inequality-on-display/>

10 The Express (2017) Pakistani Women 'shockingly badly integrated' into UK life <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/864038/Pakistani-women-badly-integrated-UK-society-disparity-report-immigration>

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12 Quartz (2017) The UK's Conservative government has put Britain's racial inequality on display <https://qz.com/1099723/the-uks-conservative-government-has-put-britains-racial-inequality-on-display/>

13 Migration Observatory (2017) <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/>



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